

# The Sun.

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## China.

The tragedy of Pekin may be the most terrible that ever befell civilization. For the murder of all the foreign Ambassadors in one of the most important capitals in the world, their families, their friends, the missionaries and merchants of their various countries, there is nothing like a parallel. To humanity it is appalling. And to international politics it is bewildering. American sentiment must sustain the Executive in any act that aims to succor Americans in peril and to restore in China the reign of law that enables foreigners to live there in the security guaranteed by treaties.

It is all very fine for some supporters of the Democratic party to join in the demand for justice and the protection of our citizens in the East; but the party of the Kansas City platform is the friend of the Boxers, as it has been the friend of ANTONIO. It is from "anti-imperialist" sources that there comes criticism of the Administration for its use of American forces in China territory. It is the anti-imperialists who raise obstacles to the Administration's policy and would halt what relief it is within the power of the country to afford. If the United States Government were capable of the imperialism these unaccountable fanatics pretend to foresee, it might be carried to by the wave of their partisan perversity.

The American people can have confidence, however, that the Washington Administration will be as little moved from duty by the slanders of the anti-imperialists as by the Boxers, and that it will strive again to make American citizens as safe in China as in the Philippines or in the United States.

## Our Business in China.

It is a curious circumstance that while this country, perhaps more sincerely than any other, desires the preservation of China's integrity as an Empire, the present great disorders have occurred in the very regions where our trade interests are largest. One-half the foreign goods sold in Newchang are sent from the United States and the despatches say that this port has been sacked and burned. The Custom House jetty at Chefoo is always piled high with American products whose sales in Chefoo, over \$2,000,000 a year, exceed the entire value of our exports to some thirty countries. But the British have been resisted and white men killed in Chefoo. Tien-Tsin, in a state of siege and temporarily cut off from all business relations, is one of the three largest inland ports for the cotton cloth and kerosene that form the bulk of our export trade with China. In a word, our trade is chiefly with northeast China where the revolt originated and to which it is still confined.

About half of all the cotton goods we sell abroad go to China, which purchased last year over \$10,000,000 worth of our sheetings, drills, jeans and other grades. They are landed in Shanghai and 90 per cent of the goods is forwarded at once to Chefoo, Tien-Tsin and Newchang for the north China markets. A little over 8 per cent is sold in cities up the Yangtze River and the remainder is consumed in Shanghai and its neighborhood. Four-fifths of the people of China dress in coarse cotton fabrics they make at home and the grades they buy from us are also coarse, but the Chinese like them for they are cheap, heavy and durable. American cottons are used not only for clothing but also for sails for thousands of boats on the canals and rivers.

Our exports to the three large ports most seriously affected by the revolt amounted to over \$8,000,000 in 1897, or eight-ninths of our total sales in China. It is quite certain that they took at least five-sixths of our exports last year, amounting to over \$12,000,000. This is a mere bagatelle in our trade statistics and even our cotton manufacturers who sell so much at home and comparatively so little abroad are not at all dismayed; but both our business interests and political policy require the speedy restoration of good order, the preservation of the Empire and the safeguarding of the open door of trade in the vast country where our trade has recently been growing by leaps and bounds.

## A Forgotten Catpaw.

Within a few days the death has been announced of a man who, a quarter of a century ago, was among the famous ones of Europe. PAUL FALK, BISMARCK's stalling horse in his war with the Roman Catholic Church in Prussia, Minister of Public Worship in that Kingdom when the laws called by his name were enacted to oppress the Roman Catholic hierarchy there, died almost forgotten at his home in Westphalia, where for several years he had been President of the Higher Tribunal of Justice; and with his death ends the last chapter of an interesting volume of modern history.

Within a short time after the French War, and the refounding of the German Empire, BISMARCK, Chancellor of the Empire and Prime Minister of Prussia, began to profess uneasiness at the growth of the Roman Church in Germany. Pope Pius's dogma of infallibility had been promulgated during the war, and its exact political importance had not then been gauged. GLADSTONE in England, RICHARD THOMPSON in this country, and others elsewhere had put out or were preparing books protesting against the dogma, and declaring it a menace to the world. BISMARCK's contribution to the literature that grew up around the Vatican Council was the series of enactments against the Church of Rome in Prussia.

In July, 1872, the Jesuits were ordered to leave the country. Then in May, 1873, came the laws that made Dr. FALK famous for a time, and with them began the so-called Kulturkampf. The laws required candidates for clerical office to undergo a certain amount of secular training at the German universities, and that appointments to ecclesiastical posts be approved by the secular authorities; they provided a royal tribunal for ecclesiastical matters,

and imposed fines and other penalties on persons who did not obey them. Later, when it was found that the laws had no effect on the priests, who were urged and directed by Pope Pius IX. to disregard them, the "breach-law" was passed, stopping the stipends of all clergymen who did not obey the law.

Archbishop LEDOWICZKI of Posen was the first martyr of the laws named after Dr. FALK. In October, 1872, he was fined for threatening to excommunicate a professor in a college in his diocese. He was imprisoned on Feb. 3, 1874, deprived of his archdiocese in April by the State, and released on Feb. 3, 1876, when he was created a Cardinal. Archbishop MELCHERS was convicted of sedition in having instituted priests without the permission of the Government. In seven months four Archbishops, seven Bishops, 120 priests in the diocese of Cologne alone, had been deprived or expelled, and the parishes were plunged into chaos, especially in the diocese of Cologne. Newspapers were suppressed, theological professors were dismissed, religious services were interdicted, church revenues were impounded; schools were shut, religious weddings were interrupted, marriages were legal only before civil officers; funerals were stopped. In seven dioceses there were 470 vacant parishes.

The war lasted for some years. It reached its height about 1876, when the Pope refused to receive Cardinal HOFMEYER as German Ambassador at his Court. When he heard of this refusal, BISMARCK uttered his famous threat: "We shall not go to Canossa," alluding to the repentance and supplication of HENRY IV., German Emperor, in 1076, 800 years before, when he stood for three days in the snow before the Pope's door, begging forgiveness and peace from GREGORY VII.

In 1873 died Pope Pius IX., and LEO XIII. succeeded to the throne of the Fisherman. Within a short time unofficial negotiations were begun by both BISMARCK and the Pope; but there was no visible reconciliation. On Jan. 30, 1879, however, Dr. FALK resigned his place in the Ministry; and on Feb. 24, 1880, LEO XIII. wrote to the Archbishop of Cologne, advising him to submit to the Government the names of priests whom he desired to institute. That same year the May or Falk laws were partially suspended; and in 1881 with the approval of the Prussian Government Dr. FELIX KORRM was appointed Bishop of Treves. In 1882 diplomatic relations were renewed between the Vatican and Prussia.

Meantime Dr. WINDHOEST, a leader of the Clerical party, had become Minister of Public Worship; and in July, 1883, the obnoxious laws were partly suspended. On Dec. 3, 1884, certain clauses were repealed absolutely. The middle of summer, 1885, saw a convention agreed on by Prussia and the Vatican; and in March, 1887, the entire series of laws was removed from the statute book. BISMARCK had reached Canossa.

He had gone there more in appearance than in reality. The Falk laws had played their part, and the cause which called them into being no longer existed. No one in 1887 considered the doctrine of infallibility as of more than ecclesiastical importance; the result of the war with France had destroyed its political force. None the less, however, the Prussian Prime Minister had gone to Canossa.

BISMARCK is dead, the Falk laws are forgotten; and now the catpaw, who did the work for the Man of Blood and Iron, has followed his old leader. The fame of twenty-five years ago has passed; and the sponsor for the famous laws dies almost unnoticed.

Some extreme strict-constructionists have held that the President cannot employ naval or military force for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of American citizens in foreign territory without the passage by Congress of a law specifically authorizing in advance such action.

President BUCHANAN, for example, asked for the passage of a law to enable him to use our warships to protect American merchant vessels against violent and lawless seizure in ports of the Spanish American States in time of revolution and disorder. BUCHANAN even thought it necessary to refute the arguments of yet stricter constructionists than himself who held that such legislation was unconstitutional, being a transfer to the Executive of the war-declaring power vested exclusively in the Congress. He discussed the question in his annual message of 1899.

It will not be denied that the general power to defend our citizens in foreign territory within their own rights is a power which nations have a public or perfect war, but also an imperfect war, and in short every species of hostility, however limited or limited. Without the authority of Congress the President cannot declare war in any case except to repel the attacks of an enemy. It will not be denied that under this power Congress could, if they thought proper, authorize the President to employ the force at his command to seize a vessel belonging to an American citizen who had been seized and unjustly captured in a foreign port and restore it to its owner. But Congress only acts after the fact, after the mischief has been done. Have they no power to confer upon the President the authority to prevent such a case afterward? Must they wait until the mischief has been done, and can they apply the remedy only when it is too late? To confer this authority to meet future cases under circumstances strictly specified is as clearly within the war-declaring power of Congress as to authorize the President to declare by act of Congress after the deed has been done.

In the progress of a great nation many exigencies must arise imperatively requiring that Congress should authorize the President to act promptly on conditions which may or may not afterward arise.

After reminding Congress that it had passed such enabling legislation in the case of Paraguay in 1858, President BUCHANAN continued:

"Now, if this conditional and contingent power could be Constitutionally conferred upon the President in the case of Paraguay, why may it not be conferred for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of American citizens in the event that they may be violently and unlawfully attacked in passing over the transit routes and from California, or assailed by the seizure of their vessels in a foreign port? Today this power is to render the Navy in a great degree useless for the protection of the lives and property of American citizens in countries where neither protection nor redress can be otherwise obtained."

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Nobody doubts that now, indeed, the very next Democratic President after BUCHANAN purposely assumed that power without going to Congress for specific authorization; and, curiously enough, in precisely the same part of the world and under precisely the same circumstances that BUCHANAN had in mind when he made his unnecessary application and superfluous argument in 1859. In the spring of 1885, when the revolt in Colombia imperilled the lives and property of American citizens living on the Isthmus of Panama, or in transit thereupon, Secretary WHITNEY energetically employed the armed force of the United States to enforce the rights guaranteed to us in the Isthmus and to protect our citizens there. There was no question about the exclusive "war-declaring power" of Congress, or of the transfer of the same to the Executive. Congress was not convened to consider the situation. The Executive simply acted, as it was its duty to act; and after the duty had been performed Mr. CLEVELAND, in his annual message to Congress at the beginning of the next session, reported it as a matter of course, not of argument or defense, to Congress. He said:

"Emergencies growing out of civil war in the United States of Colombia demanded of the Government at the beginning of this Administration, the employment of armed forces to fulfill the guarantee under the thirty-third article of the Treaty of 1845, in order to keep the transit open across the Isthmus of Panama. Desiring of exercising only the powers expressly reserved to us by the treaty, and mindful of the rights of Colombia, the forces sent out to the Isthmus were instructed to confine their action to positively and efficaciously preventing the transit and its accessories from being interrupted or embarrassed. The execution of this difficult and responsible task necessarily involved police control when the local authority was temporarily powerless, but always in aid of the sovereignty of Colombia. The restoration of peace on the Isthmus by the establishment of the constituted Government being thus accomplished, the force of the United States were withdrawn."

Under BUCHANAN'S interpretation of the Constitution and his understanding of what constitutes "hostilities," it would have been necessary for Mr. CLEVELAND to call an extra session of Congress and obtain authority to act on the Isthmus. Mr. CLEVELAND did not so understand it, and he was right.

Equally clear is the power of the McKinley Administration to act in China along the lines of its declared policy without convening Congress. The difficulty of the situation, the magnitude of the task, the horror of whatever outrages may have been committed at Pekin and elsewhere by rioters and rebels while the Imperial Government which we recognize was temporarily powerless, do not alter the case.

If the President had the Constitutional power in 1885 to maintain by armed force on the Isthmus of Panama the rights guaranteed to us by treaty with Colombia, he has the Constitutional power in 1900 to maintain treaty rights in China and to protect the lives of our citizens there. If he has the power to send for this purpose five marines to Peking or Tien-Tsin without specific authority from Congress, he has the power to send five regiments. The only doubts of his power arise from a confusion of such emergency operation with "war" in the sense contemplated by the Constitution when it vested in Congress the war-declaring power.

If the Chinese Government, being reestablished in the control of peace and order in its own territory, should reject our claims to indemnity or should refuse us satisfaction for what may have occurred during the period of its temporary powerlessness, or if a new Government should be established in China holding that same hostile attitude toward us, it would be time to consider the calling of an extra session of Congress to declare war against China for the enforcement of our demands. At present this Government is not at war with China.

The Cowboys.

A reunion of cowboys to take place at Denver is announced. It should bring together some of the most interesting characters that the country has seen. The great days of the cowboy have passed. The agricultural stage pushes aside the pastoral. Farming, wherever it can be advantageously pursued, and stock raising, possess or will possess the great area where once the knights of the quirt and stock saddle lived their healthy and adventurous lives. They were found at one time or another from the Mexican to the Canadian line, throughout the so-called arid lands and Bad Lands, Texas, New Mexico, part of Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, western Kansas, Nebraska and Dakota, and their wither with the cowboy will soon be only a memory like the buffalo buster. He will disappear as the trapper is disappearing. The bronco buster and the horse wrangler will go the way of the old stage drivers.

The accessories, the "properties" as the stage managers say, of the cowboy, his sombrero and his chaparral and jangling heavy spurs, have struck the imagination and blinded it to his qualities and services. There rises up the distorted image of him in his most reckless moments, in his hours of gross merrymaking, when he tones down his constitution with frontier whiskey and rides his horse into saloons and caravans crissly through the town, shooting and whooping. Yet all observers of his class paint him as far from quarrelsome, sudden and quick in quarrel indeed, but not seeking it, courteous and self-contained as men who live out of doors and carry dangerous weapons and know that their associates carry them are apt to be; truthful, honest, brave, of course, and not merely in action but endurance, laborious, full of resource. He belonged to a highly skilled profession. An early initiation into it and years of training were required. Plenty of Easterners who thought that it was easy for any muscular fellow graduated from the riding schools to become a cowboy found their mistake. The cowboy rode well and roped well. Skill with the rope is only obtainable after long and constant practice. Considering the refractory and unbroken or badly broken beasts the cowboys had to ride and the rough country in which most of their riding had to be done, and considering their perfect control of their mounts, they must be counted among the best horsemen in the world, masters of a style effective for their purposes.

Perfect presence of mind was necessary to the cowboy. We are likely to forget his fringes and jingle how much hard work, often in difficult conditions, he had to do. Cowpunching in a stampede during a bitter winter is no child's play. The men in the "line camps" had duties more responsible and difficult than often fall to soldiers. A great round-up was managed with a skill and discipline substantially military. One day the cowboy drags a steer out of a quicksand and the grateful

best charges abhim in consequence. The next day he is fording a freshet-swollen river or struggling with a blizzard. A bright-eyed and resolute race were and are the cowboys. Their military capabilities received sufficient demonstration in 1868 in the Rough Riders. The idea of forming a cowboy force had, we believe, occurred some ten or twelve years before.

The personal qualities of the cowboys are visible enough, but their services to civilization are scarcely thought on. Over wide regions they have been the pioneers and forerunners. They have fought a good fight against thieves, especially horse thieves, the arch criminals in a new country where everybody must ride. Banded together they have done wild justice upon many malefactors. Not too precisely always; doubtless the wrong men have been hanged at times. These little accidents will occur. Sometimes there has been war between ranch and ranch. But essentially the cowboys have been a force for law and property in a territory where no writ runs that is not signed by the strong hand.

The cowboy's costume and his profession are a modification of those of the Mexican vaquero, though nobody hates a "Greaser" more. They spread from the Southwest northward. Something of their Southwestern origin. The East has added to their numbers. For a time cowpunching was almost a mania among Eastern college men. Cultivated youths were fascinated by the free, open life. In some parts of the West, notably in Colorado, there arose a curious and delightful society. The ranchman was only a cowboy in chief. He was emancipated from many prejudices and localisms. In particular, it was noticed in Cheyenne and Denver, in the most high and palmy state of the cattle business, that cowpunching was a sure recipe for reducing the Bostonian morgue.

The strange burned and gloomy country over which many of the cowboys roamed yet awaits its sacred bard; and no man's hand has yet set down the manly and generous cowboy life, under the sun and the stars.

Rules for the Democratic Campaign.

In safely Democratic States talk silver as much as you want to.

In doubtful States or Republican States which there may be any hope of carrying for BRYAN, shut up about silver and toutem tremendously about Imperialism and Trusts.

Remember that paramountcy is movable. It is here to-day and there to-morrow. What is paramount in Montana may not be paramount for two cents in New York or Illinois.

The Democratic canvass must be elastic. It will not do to let any one issue be too confounded paramount. Suit the issue to the locality.

Our Locomotives.

The London Times has discussed recently the question of the English and the American locomotive. In 1880, it says, Great Britain exported about one and a half million pounds sterling of locomotives; the United States sent out about one quarter of a million pounds. In 1888 the exports were respectively about \$1,500,000 and \$750,000. That is, while the British locomotive export trade stood still, ours increased threefold.

Commenting on these facts, the Times says:

"It has been more than whispered that, in the past, British makers have shown what might be described as an extraordinary reluctance to supply their customers exactly what they proposed to supply rather than consult their wishes. 'We make only good engines, turn out nothing but high class work,' they have said. 'That is what we consider a good substantial locomotive, and if you want anything else, you had better go elsewhere.' Foreign countries have taken this advice, getting, perhaps, an engine not so bright, not so good looking, not so economical, but one which they may have cutless and which undoubtedly would be a good one over roads that were as different from our splendidly laid and tunneled lines as a New York street is from a Parisian boulevard."

It is in the last sentence that the gist of the whole matter lies. The British railroad is an outgrowth of the stage coach and the high road. To enable the coaches to keep to schedule time, the British roads were made like billiard tables; at great expense hills were avoided, little rises leveled. When the railroad forced its way into Britain the same rule was followed; the railroads were made as straight as possible, grades were reduced to a minimum, and wherever grades were found they were attached to endless chains which could be attached to locomotives were provided. The locomotives were made to suit the requirements of such roads. Our American locomotives were made for the same purpose; only the requirements in detail were rather different. Our highways had never been good, and our railroads were built on the same plan; they were not good. Our locomotives were built to meet conditions that would have been impossible, that are impossible even now, to the British engineer and the British machine mechanic. They met them.

That is why our locomotive export trade has increased so rapidly, and why, during the last year, we have sent more locomotives to Russia, to Canada, to Mexico, to Brazil and to Japan, than Great Britain has sent. To the Argentine, says the Times, the United States sent not an engine, and to the eastern possessions of Great Britain we sent only \$3,000, while the mother country sent \$462,000. It is due to the market for British engines in the Colonies, the Times admits, that the British export trade in locomotives is larger than ours.

The British railroad is made to fit the engine; our engine is made to fit the railroad. That is the difference between the two structures. Upward of thirty years ago a firm of this city imported to Mexico a number of British-built locomotives and a number of American engines. The former could not be used. Built for use on a straight track, without grades, they could not hold the track in Mexico, take the curves or ascend the grades, even when not attached to trains; the American locomotives, on the other hand, did what was wanted of them, went up hill and down hill, rounded curves and hauled the loads to which they were attached. The British locomotive in Great Britain has done better than the American; but the world over, on the billiard-table track of the great Eastern roads of this country, as well as on the mountain tracks of our West and of southern countries, the latter is the better engine. And that is why, among other reasons, the export of our engines is increasing and that of Great Britain is standing still.

The Populists of South Dakota and Nebraska have a neat idea. They have decided to mean that Populists shall have about all the nominations, but the Democrats are welcome to furnish votes. Perhaps such a division or want of division is substantially just. The Demo-

crats have prized their principles from the Populists. It only fair that the latter should have the lion's share of the offices or chance of office.

The Hon. WILLIAM JOEL STONE of Missouri says a kind word for two eminent Bryantes, one a little newer than the other:

"What two remarkable acquisitions last week from without our lines, WEBSTER DAVIS and DAVID BENNETT HILL."

WEBSTER DAVIS and DAVID BENNETT HILL! At least the Sage of Wolfert's Roost tastes the sweets of real fame.

According to the Washington correspondent of the Baltimore Sun, the Hon. WILLIAM A. CLARK of Montana will give "anywhere from \$100,000 upward" to the Democratic campaign fund. Such a contribution should not be regarded as a sin from the Money Power, but as the humble mite of a member of "the producing classes."

The Boston Evening Transcript reports this commercial event:

"WORCESTER, July 12.—The United States Lumber Company of Worcester has been absorbed by the Hon. J. H. H. Lumber Company and Catering Company, also of this city, which will now control the lumber business of the United States and Canada."

The course for the Democratic party to pursue in plain. It should take up the passage of the Kansas City platform, which says that the "tariff laws should be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free list," and fit it to the lumber wagon. The tariff has remained from making a lumber wagon trust into a day, but the time to strike has come.

The Hon. ADAM STEVENSON is a profound and truthful politician. He has addressed a first class course of lectures on the Democratic ticket, and the latter said that Mr. Crawford, the showman, had decided to limit his campaign to the State of Illinois. The State Department is disposed to issue a statement regarding it as a question veracity between Greiner and Crawford.

The Republic in danger.—St. Louis Republic.

The St. Louis Republic is in danger of losing its title.

In the trial heats of the international sports at Paris yesterday the American athletes were brilliantly successful. In the 100-meter hurdle race they took first, second and third places. In the 100-meter dash they took first and second; in the 800-meter race they were first, second and third in two heats out of three. The 400-meter race was almost exclusively American. In it it was the United States who took first, second and third. The representative of the University of Pennsylvania and of the New York Athletic Club were especially fortunate. If the finals carry out the promise of the preliminaries, a rousing American victory will be won.

## IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The inaction of the large force of infantry which Lord Roberts has under his command in South Africa, it now appears, due to the lack of proper footwear for the soldiers. In his evidence given the other day before the commission of inquiry into army contracts, Lord Roberts testified that the boots issued to the men in South Africa were made of a material resembling brown paper held together by strips of leather, and that the soles, when they were wet, became so soft that one could put one's finger through them. The evidence also given as to the quality of the cordite supplied for the use of the army showed that it was of inferior quality. The matter of the boots has naturally caused a disagreeable sensation in England, but the evil that has accrued to the British troops in consequence is beyond remedy. How much of the Boer success has been due to this one cause alone cannot be estimated, but it must be considerable.

Meanwhile the Boers are taking advantage of the crippled condition of the British army to harass it in every direction. Gen. De Wet is reported to have taken up a very strong position with the bulk of his force at Relief Nek, twenty miles south of Bethlehem on the road to Peka. There he covers the road going south to Harburg and the road leading north to the men in South Africa were made of a material resembling brown paper held together by strips of leather, and that the soles, when they were wet, became so soft that one could put one's finger through them. The evidence also given as to the quality of the cordite supplied for the use of the army showed that it was of inferior quality. The matter of the boots has naturally caused a disagreeable sensation in England, but the evil that has accrued to the British troops in consequence is beyond remedy. How much of the Boer success has been due to this one cause alone cannot be estimated, but it must be considerable.

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## COMMISSIONER PECK'S ANSWER.

Denials That Charges Are Made for Space in the American Exhibition.

WASHINGTON, July 14.—Ferdinand Peck, Commissioner-General of the American Exhibition at the Paris Exposition, has made answer to the State Department to the sensational charges of A. J. Greiner of Chicago that exhibitors were compelled to pay a bonus to certain American officials to secure space in the American exhibit. Mr. Peck's answer is as follows: